DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 387 922 EA 027 119

AUTHOR Alexander, Gary C.; Keeler, Carolyn M.
TITLE Total Quality Management: The Emperor's Tailor.
PUB DATE Oct 95
NOTE 50p.
PUB TYPE Viewpoints (Opinion/Position Papers, Essays, etc.) (120)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Administrator Role; Educational Change; Educational Environment; Elementary Secondary Education; Free Enterprise System; *Organizational Climate; *Organizational Development; *School Restructuring; *Total Quality Management

ABSTRACT

Conversations among educators, business leaders, legislators, and educational reformers have generated support for the application of Total Quality Management (TQM) to education. This paper considers whether TQM is indeed the solution to education's problems. After a brief explanation of TQM theory, the paper is organized around four broad issues related to the TQM model--the application of a business model to schools, the culture of language, the use of the metaphor of school as factory, and the implicit role of administrators in the TQM approach. The paper argues that TQM is yet another management model imposed on schools as the "one right way" to achieve educational reform. The dangers of using language that narrowly defines teachers as managers and students as workers are discussed. It is suggested that educators use a metaphor based on education rather than on business, and develop a culture of caring within schools rather than the climate of the factory. Administrators should be viewed as stewards practicing moral leadership rather than as management. TQM, on the other hand, promotes a metaphor based on factory organization and structure, the language of business, and corporate-leadership authority to restructure education. The appendix contains a list of W. Edwards Deming's 14 principles. (Contains 84 references.) (LMI)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

EA

ED 387 922

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

G. Alexander
C. Keeler

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

TOTAL QUALITY MANAGEMENT: THE EMPEROR'S TAILOR

Gary C. Alexander

Carolyn M. Keeler

University of Idaho

Department of Educational Administration

October, 1995

EA 027 119

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ABSTRACT

This article is organized around four broad issues, 1) the business of schools, 2) the language of business, 3) the business metaphor, and 4) leadership versus management, related to the business model, Total Quality Management (TQM). The argument of this paper is not with the quest for quality, teamwork, feedback, collective intelligence, a sense of shared purpose, or the elimination of fear and ranking that TQM purports. Rather the intent is to provide a broad overview of TQM and to express a number of general misgivings about Total Quality Management and its application to schools.

TOTAL QUALITY MANAGEMENT: THE EMPEROR'S TAILOR

Total Quality Management (TQM), as based on the work of Edward W. Deming, is among some of the latest suggestions for improving the American educational system. Numerous recent articles in a spectrum of educational journals suggest that Deming's work be applied to education. The journals of professional organizations such as the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD), the American Association of School Administrators (AASA), the National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP), and the Phi Delta Kappan (PDK) have provided forums contributing to the wide exposure of TQM.

Many conversations among educators, business leaders, legislators, and educational reformers have been concerned with the issues surrounding school improvement and reform. These conversations yield enthusiastic endorsement of TQM and the possibilities it brings for restructuring American education. There has been a great deal of discussion about the application of Total Quality Management to education. Although there appear to be few individuals who express misgivings about the application of Total Quality Management to

education, this paper considers whether it is possible that TQM is not the solution it is suggested to be.

This article is organized around four broad issues related to the business model, Total Quality Management. The argument of this paper is not with the quest for quality, teamwork, feedback, collective intelligence, a sense of shared purpose, or the elimination of fear and ranking that TQM purports. Rather the intent is to provide a broad overview of the issues cited and to express a number of general misgivings about Total Quality Management and its application to schools. Hopefully the dialogue that follows will encourage the reader to examine Total Quality Management more critically.

After a brief explanation of TQM theory, four issues are presented and examined. The first issue is the application of a business model to schools or what Kohn (1993) calls "a marketplace model in the classroom" (p. 58). Second is the culture of language. Some critics are of the opinion that applying the language of business to education limits the perspective of educators, parents, and students to a view of the world based on economic productivity (Foucault, 1977; Doyle and Kearns, 1988; Sztajn, 1992; Giroux, 1992). Kohn (1993) feels that to talk about

learning in terms of buying and selling not only warps a person's view of learning, but contributes to the warping. The third issue is the use of the metaphor of school as factory. Metaphors or mental models, as Senge (1990) calls them, are important in that they help us to better understand and interpret out world, but there is a danger. That danger, according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), is that metaphors become self-fulfilling prophecies. Senge (1990) asserts that mental models are active, but that they have the capacity to shape how we act. The fourth issue concerns the role of school administrators implicit in the TQM approach. Dynamic theories of leadership propose a shift from the view of school administrators (principals and vice principals) as managers, to school administrators viewed as stewards, ethical, and moral leaders.

An overview of TQM, a system of organizational management, is based upon E. W. Deming's (1986) fourteen points of quality management. Deming is renowned for his contribution to the rejuvenation of the Japanese industry after World War II and Japan's subsequent rise to economic world power. In his seminal work, Out of Crisis, Deming (1986) states that his goal is the "transformation of the American style of management" (ix). Deming believes that the failure of American industry

to remain competitive in the world economy is the failure of American industrial management to manage. In essence, the failure of America to keep its industrial and economic edge in the world is due to a lack of leadership.

According to Deming, a leader is one who "possesses knowledge, personality, and persuasive power" (Deming, 1993, p. 119). To halt American industrial decline and to restore American world economic dominance, American management must demonstrate leadership that will restore workers' "right of pride of workmanship" (Deming, 1986, p. x). Restoration of pride of workmanship is accomplished when management comes to understand "design of product and of service, procurement of materials, problems of production, process control, and barriers on the job" that rob the worker of pride of workmanship (p. x). An integral part of Total Quality Management and pride of workmanship is the concept of quality. Deming (1986) contends that quality to the production worker means that his/her work is satisfying and provides pride of workmanship. Deming (1986) sees that transformation of the American style of management, which in turn would restore pride of workmanship, has one purpose, to "improve productivity" (x).

The path to management transformation Deming calls profound knowledge. Profound knowledge is the interaction of system's theory, knowledge, psychology, and variation (Deming, 1993, xi). According to Deming (1990) the system of profound knowledge cannot be separated. The parts interact. Senge (1990) describes this as the interrelationships that influence behavior over time. Deming (1993) suggests that his original fourteen points follow as an application of the system of profound knowledge. (See appendix for Deming's 14 points).

Deming's story of the application of this system can be found in numerous sources (See Walton, 1991). In short, Deming proposes management that restores quality to the act of production. By making quality central, the worker is inspired to greater and improved productivity. The manager accomplishes this through attention to the interrelationships in system's theory as translated into Deming's 14 principles.

The Business of Schools

Over the past three decades America has struggled with the conflict between its ideals and the changing reality of American life (Cunningham, Hack, & Nystrand, 1977). Traditional goals and values no longer provide the guidance and direction they once did. The apparent

erosion of traditional values and institutions has created a crisis of identity across America. No where is this crisis more evident than in America's public schools.

The awareness of the crisis in education became manifest in the late 1970's and the early 1980's. During this period a number of educational reform reports were published with the best known of these, A Nation at Risk: The Imperative of Educational Reform (1983). The commonality of the reports was their assertion that American education was declining and contributing to the decline of American preeminence in the world business community (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983, p. 5; Chubb, 1988, p. 28; Passow, 1989, p. 13). These reports frightened the American public. The public became focused on education and America. The reports provoked a national fear that the United States could no longer compete internationally on an economic and industrial basis (Murphy & Evertson, 1990. p. 2; Passow, 1989, p. 1; Kirst, 1988, p. 321). Passow (1989) suggested that the reform movement was triggered by the perceived relationship between the failure of America's schools with a declining economy and weakened national security. The connection between failing American business and public

education was made.

The subsequent breakdown of confidence in American business and American schools brought with it a belief that the traditional ways of doing business and educating children would no longer suffice (Schlechty, 1990, p. xv). A new idea or model was needed that would restore American business to its former global status. A new model was needed that would also reform American schools to train and provide the workers necessary to support the reform of American business. Instead, school leaders and reformers turned to traditional business values and practices for solutions. They turned to Total Quality Management.

The marriage of business and education is not new in this country. Callahan (1962) asserts that the origin and development of the adoption of business values and practices in education started as early as the turn of the 20th Century. Business and industry occupy a position of prestige and influence in this country. Consequently, America is saturated with corporate values and ideology. This saturation includes American schools (Callahan, 1962, p. 2). Callahan (1962) suggests that the marriage of business and industry was due to two factors: the strength of business ideology in American culture and the extreme weakness and

vulnerability of school administrators.

A number of theorists have expressed concern about the union of business and education. The preeminence of this ideology however, is not without its critics, Giroux (1992) asserts that the problem with this embrace of corporate values and ideology is that it narrows the relationship between democracy and freedom. Accordingly, Giroux (1992) contends that narrowing the relationship between democracy and freedom occurs because the infatuation and alliance with a corporate management model leads schools down the path of corporate ethics and marketplace ideology. Such a focus implies adjusting the individual to the status quo rather than society changing.

Dewey (1909) wrote of the ethical responsibility of schools to educate the child for leadership, self-direction, and responsibility, not making him/her a drone. Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swindler, and Tipton (1987) examined the role of the individual in relation to society and self. They suggest that great ambiguity is created by the relationship between private and public life, the individual and society, and the ethical and moral role of one to the other. Dewey (1909) inferred that the responsibility of schools to educate children made the moral purpose of

schools "universal and dominant in all instruction - whatsoever the topic" (p. 2).

What Dewey, Bellah, and others suggest, educating the individual for the individual's sake rather than societies, is the basis for an argument against adapting schools into the corporate mold of organization, management, and economic interests. Supporters of TQM talk about quality, but a discussion of ethics, values, or justice has not been observed.

Malachowski (1990) comments that ethics, values and justice are difficult concepts for business and that the business view of morality is external, absolute, and abstract. In business, morality is put on a pedestal but it is actually grossly undervalued in the process. The tendency in business, he states, is to create the "PR project" even when trying to become ethical. Why would schools want to emulate the "business as usual" profile offered by TQM?

Perhaps an answer to this question rests in the children's fairy tale, "The Emperor's New Clothes." The emperor convinced his subjects that he wore new, beautiful clothes while he marched through the streets of his kingdom. Everyone praised the emperor's attire until one individual

pointed out that the king was naked. Senge (1990) suggests that the people in this story were bounded by mental images, metaphors. Their image of the emperor's dignity kept them from seeing his nakedness. What is key here is that the metaphor, or mental models as Senge calls them, shape how people act and also what they see. The view of supporters of TQM may not be unlike the people in the story.

Accordingly, one must step out of the embrace of the business model, TQM. One must step out of the business metaphor, the TQM model, to a critical position, a position of opposition. This stance reveals the illusion which proponents of TQM have created. As Foucault (1977) points out, people must take a position of opposition in order to dissolve the sense of false unity of perception that has been created. The sense of unity proponents of TQM have created is that the theory of TQM is the theory to reform America's schools as well as American business.

The application of Total Quality Management to business may very well have some beneficial effects for business. TQM advocates, for example, profess that TQM is not a bureaucratic, factory model, but is instead a model emulating "enlightened corporations" (Sztajn, p. 36) in which enlightened or high-tech companies have lean structures, flat

organizations, and decision making pushed to the lowest level. Titles are not important, performance ranks above position (Doyle & Kearns, 1988; Jardin, 1993). The resulting "enlightenment" makes the work environment less authoritarian.

Bonstingl (1992) reports that Deming's experience at the Hawthorne Plant convinced Deming that authoritarian methods of management were both degrading to humans and counterproductive to the interests of all parties. Accordingly, Deming (1986) developed his model of production that emphasized "quality" as an organization's top priority while breaking down barriers between staff areas. Deming's (1986) emphasis on training and employee involvement are exemplary. Deming's emphasis on employee involvement is not unlike Senge's (1990) learning organization in which workers recognize, synthesize, identify, and solve problems. This is what Deming (1986) called "continuous improvement" (p. 23). Schenkat (1993) argues on Deming's behalf that Deming's ideas on quality provide opportunities for the development of learning organizations that nurture people. Despite the possible advantages of applying Total Quality Management to business there are those who are opposed to its application to schools.

A case may be made that schools are fundamentally different organizations from businesses and that the transfer of business language, metaphor, and related limitations on the sources of leadership authority may be detrimental to students and society. Simply because TQM does not do away with "power", "authority", "output", and "hierarchy" does not mean it is deficient as an application for business. The contention here is that TQM is deficient as an application for schools.

Kohn's (1993) argument in opposition to TQM in schools is that the application of TQM into the classroom is driven by corporate interests rather than the interests of children. TQM remains a rational model of bureaucratic control (Worth, 1993, p. 361). Even with TQM, the focus of investment in education remains on enhancing American global economic productivity on the backs of America's educational institutions and children (Sztajn, 1992; Doyle & Kearns, 1988). As Deming (1986) stated in Out of Crisis, "This book is an attempt to improve productivity..." (p. x). If the aim of schooling is the larger ethical responsibility of educating the child for leadership and self-direction (Dewey, 1909), then improved productivity seems like, at least, a weak indicator of process, rather than the end in itself. That end may be sufficient in the corporate world, but

seems deficit in terms of the larger goals of schooling.

The idea that the existing educational system has failed to meet the social and economic needs of the present and imminent future is not new. Shortly after the turn of the century Dewey, in Education and the Social Order, reflected on the state of the schools as they existed in the 1830's. He expressed concern that Americans should take a societal as opposed to an exclusive class point of view to insure the continuance of the Democracy through education (in Ratner, 1939, p. 701). Basically, little has changed. The TQM point of view reflects an exclusive class point of view. TQM is the view of business. It is the view of the status quo.

In contrast, Dewey (1920), proposed that the purpose of all social institutions, including business, should be to "set free and to develop the capacities of human individuals" and the test of the value of these institutions is the extent to which they educate every individual to his/her fullest potential. Giroux (1992), focusing more narrowly on schools, contends that the purpose and meaning of schooling should not define schools as simply an adjunct of the corporation. Sergiovanni (1991) believes that the purpose of schools is to transform students by providing

them with knowledge and skills and by building *character* and instilling *virtue*. Dewey stated that schools are places where the moral relationships are of paramount importance (In Ratner, 1939).

Foster (1991) defines moral relationships as those relationships "based on the possibilities of community, of citizenry, of participation in the formation of one's own life and its meaningfulness in the process of the world" (pp. 2-3). Pearlman and Olds (1992) echo this sentiment. Their view is that significant change in schools cannot take place unless there is "significant change in the nature of the human relationships that form the educational experience" (pp 297-298). A first step toward significant change might be an awareness of what many theorists suggest, the focus of schools should be learning to learn rather than learning to earn mindset of TQM.

Schools are different from business. As Buber wrote, "the educator is distinct by his will to take part in the stamping of character and by his consciousness that he represents in the eyes of the growing person a certain selection of what is, a selection of what is 'right,' of what should be" (In John Paul Strain, 1971b, p. 488). Ball (1990) concludes that, theories of management reflect particular interests and needs of

that, theories of management reflect particular interests and needs of administrators. The result is a theory which is inherently biased and insinuates itself as the real world of organizational life to the exclusion of other versions.

Even Max Weber (Owens, 1970), the theoretical father of bureaucracy, ultimately came to look upon organizational life with antipathy. He stated:

> It is horrible to think that the world could one day be filled with nothing but those little cogs, little men clinging to little jobs and striving toward bigger ones... This passion for bureaucracy is enough to drive one to despair...and the great question is therefore not how we can promote and hasten it, but what can we oppose to this machinery in order to keep a portion of mankind free from this parcelling-out of the soul from this supreme mastery of the bureaucratic way of life (pp. 455-456).

When educators begin to espouse a philosophy of education based upon business, they begin to lose sight of the traditional mission of schools. That traditional mission is what Goodlad (1987) underscores as

the reconciliation of the interests and needs of the immediate community (parents and students) with the interests of the nation. By returning to the inherent traditional mission of schools, not the structure or metaphor of business, we can continue to enhance our capability to meet the needs of the immediate community and the interests of the nation. Green (1984) states that the central thrust of current reform models and metaphors is not to eliminate a dysfunctional system, but "to eliminate the pathological aberrations causing the system to be dysfunctional" (p. 211). One specific aberration is TQM's use of language.

The Language of Business

TQM as a philosophy of education is rife with the vocabulary and symbolism of work and the workplace. The problem with this according to Giroux (1992) is that the vocabulary of today is "trapped in a vocabulary in which the estimate of a good society is expressed in indices that measure markets, defense systems, and the gross national product" and does little more than to fix an elitist view of school in the "interest of labor market imperatives" (p. 5).

Dewey (1938a) stated that "a philosophy of education, like any theory, has to be stated in words, in symbols" (p. 8). Hayakawa (1972)

suggests that the way we use words and the way we understand them when used by others shapes our beliefs, prejudices, ideals, and aspirations. These words "constitute the moral and intellectual atmosphere in which we live, in short, our *semantic environment*" (p. 17). He warns of the power and limitations of words as symbols. Hayakawa states, "the symbol is not the thing symbolized; the word is not the thing; the map is not the territory it stands for" (p. 27). Sergiovanni (1987) contends that at the heart of any theory is the language used to describe and implement it. He cautions that the words we use "program our thinking by highlighting certain aspects of reality and covering up other parts" (p. 63). Mesthene (1970) believes we manipulate situations with words. In other words, "it is language and the instrumentalities it provides that function as the agents of that actualization of potentialities that we term knowledge" (Mesthene, 1970, p. 99). Dewey (1938b) says "language makes us know" (p. 461). Accordingly, Mesthene (1970) suggests that language determines and shapes the knowing that comes from seeking. The relationship between language and action, then, is causal. This assists us in understanding Greenfield's (1982) explanation that language is power.

The words of work are powerful symbols in our society with very specific connotations related to business not to education. It is the focus on the word, quality, however that masks the underlying metaphor in TQM language. It is the word "quality" and the "quality" concept that TQM advocates use to adjust the individual to their perspective. There is nothing wrong with teaching quality or striving for quality in one's work and life. The concept of quality should be debated, however, and used in a consensual context that emerges from the debate.

When words such as "quality" become contextual to a model such as TQM, teachers and administrators are placed in an either/or situation. Educators are trapped by forced choices. They are faced with the dilemma of competing good in schools. If they are critical of the TQM model, to which the word "quality" has been attached, for example, they are placed in a position of opposition to quality. Obviously this does not imply that one is in opposition to "quality" experiences for all children.

The use of value laden words such as quality evoke an emotional response. Rather than create an adversarial or exclusionary position, perhaps the first step in changing human relationships would be to use a "public" language that is inclusive, theoretical, public, and ethical (Giroux,

1992, p. 8). Such a language, as Sarte (1963) suggests, is a language both critical and possible, one that represents both an aversion and an embrace, at once refusal and an awareness. Or, as Greene (1988) suggests, we might accomplish inclusion through the use of languages and understandings that speak across the diversities of culture, history, and experience (See Giroux, 1992).

Bellah et al. (1987) describe such a language as a "public" language. A public language has a common moral vocabulary based on consensus about the nature of the relationship between the individual and society.

Multiple languages and diverse literacies should be used in our schools so that people are able to communicate with and understand each other in our increasingly diverse and global society. Boyd (1992) emphasizes that

> ...it is essential to scrutinize the paradigms or theories influencing our thinking and the consequences, for good or ill, or the biases built into them. To the extent that we are captives of particular paradigms, we are prisoners of their vision. How we think about our problems determines both *what we see* and *what we fail to see* (p. 505).

Accordingly, all theories and models should be scrutinized. Kerr (1987), believes that "education must be sensitive to the peculiarities of the individual learners, peculiarities that can only be detected on an individual basis..." (p. 31). Educating children to their greatest individual potential honors the symbiotic relationship between society and the individual. The purpose and function of education is not to support the corporate structure but to maximize the individual's interests, abilities, desires, and appreciations to the highest possible level (Sztajn, 1992).

Historically, language has been used by those in power to render critique of a concept or model difficult. The use of specific factory or workplace related vocabularies narrows the space within which an individual opposed to the corporate metaphor may speak. Words used as metaphors loose their metaphorical status and begin to be considered as descriptive of reality. Schools are neither like factories, nor should they be.

The Business Metaphor

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) tell us that the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another. They call this type of metaphor a structural metaphor. Structural

metaphors are the types of metaphor discussed in this paper. Words used as structural metaphors loose their metaphorical status and begin to be considered as descriptive of reality. According to Johnson (1987) there is "a growing body of evidence that metaphor is a pervasive, irreducible, imaginative structure of human understanding that influences the nature of meaning and constrains our rational influences" (p. xii). It is important, as Sztajn (1992) proposes, that we use other than a business metaphor for schools. Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton (1991) support this perspective. They state that not only do we create institutions, but that they also create us. Our institutions educate and form us through the metaphors they create. These metaphors, in turn, provide the perceptions through which we interpret situations and actions (Bellah et al., 1991).

Metaphors are important. Metaphors do help us to better understand and interpret our world. But, as with language and as discussed above, we must be aware of the inherent danger in the use of metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). That danger is that metaphors become self-fulfilling prophecies.

Metaphors are often thought of as being characteristic of language

alone. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) suggest to the contrary, that metaphors are pervasive in everyday life in thought and action as well as language. They argue that human thought process are largely metaphorical. That is to say, that the human way of knowing and understanding, the human conceptual system, is metaphorically structured and defined. Therefore, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) contend that as we change our conceptual system, we change what is real for us. This change in our perception of reality also changes how we act upon those perceptions. Accordingly, metaphors may create realities for us especially social realities.

Nancy Leys Stepan (1988) suggests that metaphors tend to become dogmatic and non-metaphoric. A business metaphor, for example, enhances the power of what Yankelovich (1985) calls "the money and missiles sense of reality" (p. 11). The money and missiles metaphor emphasizes military power and economic realities rather than the political and moral dilemmas our society faces today. According to Yankelovich (1985), this perspective excludes a majority of the American population from participation in policy making because of their lack of understanding in these areas and because of their diverse cultural

backgrounds. Similarly, the associated metaphor of schools as corporations or businesses is a metaphor of exclusion.

Goodlad (1987) maintains that "metaphors for change and improvement have to do with health and sound functioning rather than with doing more things better or more efficiently" (p. 211), as a business metaphor would suggest. Furthermore, whatever metaphor is chosen should emphasize process and multiple outcomes. Traditionally the business metaphor has been primarily interested only in what is going on economically and its direct results.

What is needed is a metaphor, like a language, that is inclusive. Inclusive means recognizing the value of others, their unique abilities and interests. What is suggested here are schools whose culture is based on what Blendinger and Jones (1989) call shared understandings that include administrators, teachers, staff, parents, students, and important others. Those shared understandings would be based on a debate of values and concurrence in the articulation of a school covenant, not blind acceptance of corporate market economy values (Sergionvanni, 1992). Sergiovanni (1991) believes that "shared values" are the "glue" that "bonds people together in a loosely connected world" (p. 60). Schools

based on shared values would be schools that emphasize nurturance and warmth. Such schools would begin with strong ethical, moral, and caring leadership, not with a management emphasis.

Leadership Versus Management

The fourth and final issue to be discussed concerns the role of school administrators implicit in the TQM approach. Dynamic theories of leadership propose a shift from the view of school administrators as managers to school administrators viewed as stewards, ethical, and moral leaders. Earlier in this discussion, Deming (1986) was quoted as saying that his goal in, Out of Crisis, was the "transformation of the American style of management" (ix). Deming believed that the failure of American industry to remain competitive in the world economy was the failure of American industrial management to manage. He concluded that the failure of America to keep its industrial and economic edge in the world was due to a lack of leadership. Deming (1993) defined a leader as the person who accomplishes the transformation of his/her organization. That individual "possesses knowledge, personality, and persuasive power" (p. 119). Deming's (1986, 1993) emphasis throughout his works rests squarely on management, not leadership.

Current theorists emphasize that both leaders and managers are essential in an organization, but with the greater emphasis on leaders and leadership (Burns, 1978; Louis and Miles, 1990). Leaders provide a sense of mission, direction, and give inspiration (Fullan and Stiegelbauer, 1991). Managers focus on planning, doing, and working effectively with people. The characteristics of both must be blended (Fullan and Stiegelbauer, 1991), but the greater need in schools is for leadership. Teachers and schools need leaders and leadership more than they need managers.

Consensus as to the meaning of the term leadership does not exist (Stogdill, 1974, p. 15; Immegart, 1978, p. 272; Yukl, 1981, p. 2, etc.). In fact, almost 20 years ago, Stogdil (1974) reported and classified over 70 definitions of leadership. Gardner (1990) offers a definition that captures the essence of leadership, however. He states, "Leadership is the process of persuasion or example by which a group pursues objectives commonly held" (p. 1). Leadership in this context is the sharing of identity and unity by the group. The leader is the person or persons who model the norms and values of the organization and who leads through stewardship (Sergiovanni, 1990). Sergiovanni (1990, 1992) also call this

type of leadership - "followership". McKenzie (1992) echoes Sergiovanni's call for a collaborative and inclusive approach to leadership, especially in these rapidly changing times. Senge (1990) describes a leader as designer, as steward, and as teacher. He defines a leader as designer as one who is behind the scenes, who empowers others. A leader as steward he sees as the holder of the vision. A leader as teacher Senge believes helps people focus their attention on accurate, insightful, and empowering views of reality. Johnson (1990) speaks of the need for collegiality, a condition which requires good teachers and a group norm of cooperation and exchange, a focus on the needs of students, and growth through life-long learning. Wheatley (1992) defines a leader as one who molds their organization through concepts, not through elaborate rules or structures. Wheatley sees shaping an organization through concepts as necessary in a world of growing chaos.

The views of leadership expressed above have one commonality. The leader or leaders defined above are individuals who hold form in the organization. Holding form is maintaining the essence of the organization's consensual vision (M. A. Woods, personal communication, November, 1993). Holding form is when the leadership envisions the

underlying order (form) in the chaos of the organization, in the organization's interaction with its internal and external environment, and is able to communicate that form to individuals in the organization while empowering them to assert themselves in, what Wheatly (1992) calls, "non-deterministic ways". Holding form is communicating, what she calls, "the guiding visions, strong values, and organizational beliefs" (p. 133). Form can be viewed as the school's culture. Holding form by the leader/s enables those in the organization to break traditional norms or leadership practices that "rely on bureaucratic, psychological, and technical-rational authority" (Sergiovanni, 1992, p.86).

TQM, as a business model, relies on traditional norms and leadership practices. These practices appear collegial but are only grafted onto the existing business culture through mandates, the heightened practice of human relations, and the appeal to what the research says are unlikely to have any effect on the normative structure of the school (Sergiovanni, 1992). The grafting of business leadership models and practices on to schools enhances school cultures whose management is engulfed by bureaucratic strategy. The culture of the school must change first. Sergiovanni (1991) states that,

> Schools are indeed tightly connected, but around cultural, not management, themes. Teachers and students are driven less by bureaucratic rules, management protocols, contingency tradeoffs, and images of rational reality than by norms, group mores, patterns of beliefs, values, the socialization process, and a socially constructed reality (p. 217).

School leaders are instrumental in creating school culture. Sergiovanni, in an interview with Ron Brandt (1992), suggests that, "the only thing that makes a leader special is that he or she is a better follower; better at articulating the purposes of the community; more passionate about goals, more willing to take time to pursue them" (p. 47). The leader as manager is more concerned with improving the end product of the system with the ultimate intent of narrowing the amount of variation in student performance (Blankstein, 1992). This desire for conformance is the most blatant deviation from the school as a learning and caring community. The ethic of caring is prime among the values of the school which attends to the developmental, physical, and social needs of its students. The leader as steward is concerned with development of every student's full potential and uniqueness, commitment to a common cause,

and shared professional values and responsibilities.

Covenants must be built from the ground up by members of the community as the school is transformed from an organization to a community (Sergiovanni, 1992). Schools as communities of moral discourse work to involve teachers and administrators in more productive forms of interaction. This interaction ideally avoids the distortions in communication which have accompanied the emphasis by businesses on technical expertise (Smith & Blase, 1991).

The leadership which is needed to transform schools from organizations to communities is founded on the fundamental principles of right conduct rather than on current practices or custom. The leadership must be moral and have as its base a system of ethical standards. The leadership of TQM, on the other hand, is founded on the management and use of information to focus everyone on the improvement of the product (Rhodes, 1992). Advocates of TQM would have us move further toward control and efficiency as goals of education. Laurence Tribe (1972) warns against the application of economic perspectives, control and efficiency, to education. He states that operating from an economic perspective inclines people toward

> ...the exaltation of utilitarian and self- interested individualism, efficiency, and maximized production as against distributive ends, procedural and historical principles, and the values...associated with personal rights, public goods, and communitarian and ecological goals (p. 105).

Schools are grounded in a collective and historical mission to build a community of unique learners, a multi-faceted culture which is cooperative, supportive, and collaborative in nature. Leadership for tomorrow's schools should analyze schools in terms of philosophical import, moral and ethical significance (Goldhammer, 1982). Barnard (1938) argues that, organizations endure in proportion to the breath of the morality by which they are governed. Thus the endurance of organization depends upon the quality of leadership; and that quality derives from the breadth of the morality upon which it rests (p. 282).

In a society with a strong utilitarian emphasis, the administrator who can meet a performance criterion and "get things done" is highly valued. On the other hand, the moral leader believes that there is more to schooling than the obtainment of a performance criterion (Smith & Blase, 1991). That is, schooling is ultimately about discovering who we are,

what values we hold, and how we live our lives. This goal of schooling involves process, not product and thus the line between the process of schooling and the product of schooling is inherently blurred. As Smith and Blase (1991) go on to say, a moral leader is one who promotes the process of schooling and protects this more complex, richer understanding of education.

As we have seen, leadership takes many forms. The leader who holds form, but who empowers and supports the freedom of his/her colleagues facilitates the planning and decision making processes in order to assist members to define the needs, values, and outcomes of the school community and become independent and reflective professionals. Schools as learning communities publically establish what they believe and this covenant of shared values becomes the basis of self-management. Sergiovanni (1992) suggests that followership emerges when leadership practice is based on communal ideas and self-management rather than subordination are encouraged.

Burns (1978) called this type of leadership "transformational". Transformational leadership is moral leadership "concerned with *end values* such as liberty, justice, equity" (p. 426). Sergiovanni (1991),

interpreting Starratt's ideas of administration as moral action, states that administration "must be understood as a struggle to do the right thing according to some sense of values, to some sense of what it means to be and become a human being" (p. 13). Sullivan (1986) also comments on administration as moral practice when he suggests that, ethics is grounded in practice within the community. The protection of human dignity depends on the moral quality of social relationships and this is finally a public and political concern. Citizenship is a shared initiative and responsibility among persons committed to mutual care (p. 22). Burns, Sergiovanni, and Sullivan argue the necessity of organizations which are concerned with establishing an empowered citizenry and a community based on values, ethics, sharing and caring.

Total Quality Management's form of empowerment remains based on management themes, bureaucratic rules, and management protocols. Further emphasizing these forms of authority through the practice of TQM will cause schools to continue to neglect professional and moral authority as additional sources of leadership practice. We need an expanded theoretical and operational foundation for leadership capable of balancing the full range of values and sources of authority. Sergiovanni (1992)

refers to this expanded foundation as the "moral dimension in leadership" or what Senge (1992) calls "personal mastery."

The shift in leadership underscored in this article is leadership based upon the needs of children. These needs are ascertained by and at the local school site through the establishment of a community of learners, a learning organization. As Calabrese (1988) states, "a school's moral atmosphere is a prevailing attitude that carefully intertwines responsibility with action" (p. 2). "A community of caring" is built based on a covenant developed and defined within the individual school community.

Conclusion

This article provides an overview of the structure, language, metaphor, and source of leadership authority from the currently popular view projected by the Total Quality Management model by E. W. Deming, as contrasted with a broader view of schooling. It is argued that TQM is yet another management model being imposed on schools as the "one right way" to achieve educational reform. The dangers of using language that narrowly defines teachers as managers and students as workers is discussed. A discussion of metaphor for education rather than a business

metaphor is proposed and a culture and climate of caring within schools rather than the culture and climate of the factory is suggested. A shift from viewing administrators as management to a view of administrators as stewards practicing moral leadership is proposed.

Foster (1989) argues that critique of business applications to schools is a struggle for mind. "It is a struggle to capture a nation enamored by the marketplace and controlled by a bureaucracy, and to show it the possibilities that lie in a free and just society" (p. 18).

The world of schools should be such a free and just society wherein credence is given to the human aspects of life, a place where real people, in real life contexts, struggle with the problems of that life and attempt to articulate those struggles in a language common to the learning community and based on their shared values, experiences, and contextual metaphors.

Total Quality Management promotes a metaphor based on factory organization and structure, the language of business, and corporate leadership authority to restructure education. Perhaps the time has come to explore other models and metaphors for restructuring schools than a business model. Proponents of Total Quality Management have cloaked

the model in the guise of "quality". It is time to remove the cloak and see that the emperor is naked.

REFERENCES

Ball, S. (1990). Management as moral technology: A Luddite analysis. In S. J. Ball (Ed.). Foucault and education: Disciplines and knowledge (pp. 153-166). London: Routledge.

Barnard, C. (1938). The functions of the executive. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Beckman, M. (1990, Fall). Collaborative learning: Preparation for the workplace and democracy? College-Teaching, 38(4), 128-133.

Bellah, R., Madsen, R., Sullivan, W., Swidler, A., and Tipton, S. (1987). Habits of the heart: Individualism and commitment in American life. NY: Harper and Row, Publishers.

Bellah, R., Madsen, R., Sullivan, W., Swidler, A., and Tipton, S. (1991). The good society. NY: Alfred A. Knopf.

Bendix, R. (1960). Max Weber: An intellectual portrait. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc.

Blankstein, A. (1992, March). Lessons from enlightened corporations. Educational Leadership, 49(6), 71-75.

Blendinger, J., and Jones, L. (1989, May). Start with culture to improve your school. School Administrator, 46(5), 22-25.

Bonstingl, J. (1992). Schools of quality: An introduction to total quality management in education. Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.

Boyd, W. (1992, November). The power of paradigms: Reconceptualizing educational policy and management. Educational Administration Quarterly, 28(4), 504-528.

Brandt, R. (1992, February). On rethinking leadership: A conversation with Tom Sergiovanni. Educational Leadership, 49(5), 46-49.

Buber, M. (1965a). Between man and man (Ronald Gregor Smith, Trans.). New York: Macmillan.

Buber, M. (1971b). The education of character. In John Paul Strain, Modern philosophy of education. New York: Random House.

Burns, J. (1978). Leadership. New York: Harper and Row.

Calabrese, R. (1988, December). Ethical leadership: A prerequisite for effective schools. NASSP Bulletin, 72(512), 1-4.

Callahan, R. (1962). Education and the cult of efficiency: A study of the social forces that have shaped the administration of the public schools. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Chubb, J. (1988, Winter). Why the current wave of school reform will fail. The Public Interest, 90, 28-49.

Cunningham, L., Hack, W., and Nystrand, R. (1977). Educational administration: The developing decades. Berkeley, CA: McCuthan Publishing Corporation.

Deming, W. (1986). Out of the crisis. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Deming, W. (1990, March). A system of profound knowledge. Letter written 10 March 1990.

Deming, W. (1993). The new economics: For industry, government, education. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Dewey, J. (1909). Moral principles in education. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Dewey, J. (1920). Reconstruction in philosophy. New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc.

Dewey, J. (1938a). Experience and education. New York: Macmillan Company.

Dewey, J. (1938b). Logic: The theory of inquiry. New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc.

Doyle, D., and Kearns, D. (1988). Winning the brain race. San Francisco: ICS Press.

Foster, W. (1986, February). "Educational administration: A critical appraisal." Paper presented to the National Commission on Excellence in Educational Administration, The University Council on Educational Administration.

Foster, W. (1989, Spring). The administrator as a transformative intellectual. Peabody Journal of Education, 66(3), 5-19.

Foster, W. (1991). "Moral theory, transformation, and leadership in school settings." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Educational Research Association, Chicago, IL, April, 1991.

Fullan, M., and Stiegelbauer, S. (1991). The new meaning of educational change (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Gardner, J. (1990). On leadership. New York, NY: The Free Press.

Giroux, H. (1992). Educational leadership and the crisis of democratic government. Educational Researcher, 21(4), 4-11.

Goldhammer, K. (1982). "The context of education in the 1980's: The need for educational statesmanship," The Walter J. Cocking Lecture, National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration, San Marcos, Texas.

Goodlad, J. (1987). Toward a healthy ecosystem. In The ecology of school renewal. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 86th Yearbook of the National Society of the Study of Education (pp. 210-221).

Green, M. (1988). The dialect of freedom. New York: Teachers College Press.

Green, T. (1980). Predicting the behavior of the educational system. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Greenfield, T. (1982, Winter). Against group mind: An anarchistic theory of education. McGill Journal of Education, 17.

Greenfield, W. (1991). "Toward a theory of school leadership". Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago, IL, April 3-7.

Hargreaves, A. (1989). "Contrived collegiality and the culture of teaching". Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Society for the Study of Education, Quebec City, Quebec.

Hayakawa, S. (1972). Language in thought and action (3rd ed.). Chicago: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Immegart, G. (1988). Leadership and leader behavior. In N. Boyan (Ed.), Handbook of research on educational administration, pp. 259-277. New York, NY: Longman Publishers.

Jardin, A. (1993, February). From hierarchy to centrarchy. Women's Review of Books, X(5), 27-28.

Johnson, M. (1987). The body in the mind: The bodily basis of meaning, imagination, and reason. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Johnson, S.M. (1990). Teachers at work: Achieving success in our schools. New York: Basic Books.

Kerr, D. (1987). Authority and responsibility in public schooling. In John Goodlad (Ed.), The ecology of school renewal eighty-sixth yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (pp. 20-40). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kirst, M. (1988). Recent state education reform in the United States: Looking backward and forward. Educational Administration Quarterly, 24(3), 318-328.

Kohn, A. (1991, March). Caring kids: The role of school. Phi Delta Kappan, 72(7), 496-506.

Kohn, A. (1993, September). Turning learning into a business: Concerns about total quality. Educational Leadership, 51(1), 58-61.

Lakoff, G., and Johnson, M. (1980). Metaphors we live by. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Louis, K., and Miles, M. B. (1990). Improving the urban high school: What works and why. New York: Teachers College Press.

MacIntyre, A. (1984). After virtue. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.

Malachowski, A. (1990). The reasons for the renewed interest in making business practices more moral are outlined. Leadership and Organization Development Journal, 11(3), 22-27.

McKenzie, J. (1992). Sail beyond your Odysseus complex. The Executive Educator, 14(7), 22-25.

Mesthene, E. (1970). How language makes us know: Some views about the nature of intelligibility. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Murphy, J., & Evertson, C. (1990, April). Restructuring schools: Capturing the phenomena. Presented at the Annual American Educational Research Association Convention, Boston, MA. 1-12.

National Commission on Excellence in Education. (1983). A national at risk: The imperative for educational reform. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office).

Noddings, N. (1988, February). An ethic of caring and its implications for instructional arrangements. American Journal of Education, 96(2), 215-230.

Olds, H., and Pearlman, R. (1992, December). Designing the new American school. Phi Delta Kappan, 74(4), 296-298.

Passow, H. (1989). Present & future directions in school reform. In T. Sergiovanni and J. Moore (Eds.), Schooling for tomorrow: Directing reforms to issues that count (pp. 13-39). Boston: Allyn and Bacon Publisher.

Presthus, R. (1962). The organizational society. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

Ratner, J. (Ed.). (1939). Intelligence in the modern world: John Dewey's philosophy. NY: The Modern Library.

Rhodes, L.A. (1992). On the road to quality. Educational Leadership, 49(6), 76-80.

Rosehholtz, Susan J. (1984). "Political myths about educational reform: Lessons from research on teaching." Paper prepared for the Education Commission of the States, Denver, CO.

Sarte, J. (1963). Search for a Method. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Schenkat, R. (1993, September). Deming's quality: Our last but best hope. Educational Leadership, 51(1), 64-65.

Schlechty, P. (1990). Schools for the twenty-first century: Leadership imperatives for educational reform. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Senge, P. (1990). The fifth discipline: The art and practice of the learning organization. New York: Doubleday.

Sergiovanni, T. J. (1992). Moral leadership: Getting to the heart of school improvement. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Sergiovanni, T. (1991). The principalship: A reflective practice perspective (2nd ed.). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Sergiovanni, T. (1989). The leadership needed for quality schooling. In T. Sergiovanni and J. Moore (Eds.), Schooling for tomorrow: Directing reforms to issues that count. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Sergiovanni, T., and Carver, F. (1973). The new school executive: A Theory of Administration. New York: Dodd Mead.

Smith, J. K. and Blase, J. (1991). From empiricism to hermeneutics: Educational leadership as a practical and moral activity. Journal of Educational Administration, 29(1), 6-21.

Stepan, N. (1988). "Race and the languages of science". Paper prepared for the panel on "Race, Science, and Apartheid," joint session of the American Historical Association and the History of Science Society, December 30th, Cincinatti.

Stogdill, R. (1974). Handbook of leadership: A survey of theory and research. New York, NY: The Free Press.

Sullivan, W. (1986). Reconstructing public philosophy. Berkeley, CA: University of California.

Sztajn, P. (1992, November). A matter of metaphors: Education as a handmade process. Educational Leadership, 50(3), 35-37.

Tribe, L. (1972). Policy science: Analysis or ideology? Philosophy and Public Affairs, 2(1), 55-110.

Urdang, L. (ed.). (1968). The Random House dictionary of the English language: College edition. New York: Random House.

Walton, M. (1991.) Deming management at work. NY: Putnam.

Weick, K. (1976). Educational organizations as loosely - coupled systems. Administrative Science Quarterly, 21, 1-19.

Wheatly, M. (1992). Leadership and the new science: Learning about organization from an orderly universe. San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler Publishers.

Wirth, A. (1993). Education and work: The choices we face. Phi Delta Kappan, 74(5), 361-366.

Yankelovich, D. (1985, Winter). How the public learns the public's business. Kettering Review, 8-18.

Yukl, G. (1981). Leadership in organizations. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

APPENDIX

Edward W. Deming's 14 principles (Deming, 1986).

1. Create constancy of purpose for improvement of product and service.
2. Adopt the new (Deming) philosophy.
3. Cease dependence on inspection to achieve quality. Build in quality in the first place.
4. End the practice of awarding business on the basis of price alone.
5. Improve constantly and forever every process.
6. Institute training on the job.
7. Adopt and institute leadership.
8. Drive out fear.
9. Break down barriers between staff areas.
10. Eliminate slogans, exhortations, and targets for the staff.
11. Eliminate numerical quotas for the staff and goals for management.
12. Remove barriers that rob people of pride of workmanship.
13. Institute a vigorous program of education and self-improvement for everyone.
14. Put everybody in the organization to work to accomplish the transformation.